THE

COMPARISON:

Accounts on Both Sides

FAIRLY STATED;

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View of the Management

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WAR in SPAIN.

Under the respective Commands OFTHE

(PETER BOROUGH

Earls of Gallway.

AND

Occasion'd by some late Enquiries in the HOUSE of PEERS.

With their Lordships Proceedings thereupon.

London: Printed by JOHN MORBHEW near Stationers-Hall, 1711.

the left U. Koorfe, Homall the Afpenious of the cloves aded Antwerer: With tome Antwestions on Me.

BOOKS Printed for George Sawbridge.

Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on Saturday the 25th of Nov. 1710. By White Kennet, Dean of Peterborough, and Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty. Publish'd by the Command of the most Reverend the Archbishop. Made English for the Benefit of the Diffenting Teachers, with Cursory Remarks. Price 6 d.

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Comparison, &c.

HE Debates of the House of Lords upon the Affairs of Spain, occasion'd by a want of Conduct in those parts that seems almost irretrievable, having given Being to various Opinions and Conjectures, and to several Pamphlets on that Head; amongst which, one entituled, An Account of the Earl of Gallway's Conduct in Spain and Portugal, feem'd to call in question their Lordships Decision: It may not be improper to undeceive fuch people as run away with false Appearances for Matter of Fact, by fetting things in a true Light, and presenting them to the View of the Publick with a Freedom that is altogether impartial and difinterefted.

In order to this, the fairest Merhod I can think of, is to leave the Detail of the Accounts on both sides ro the Judgment of the Reader; and fince I confine myfelf to the Transactions in Spain during the several Commands of the Earls of Peterborough and Gallway, (there being no room for a Dispute concerning the Behaviour of their Successor, General Stanbope) I shall proceed by way of Comparison; that is, by laying down the Particulars of each of their Actions, that he may make an Estimate from thence, which has been most deserving of the Thanks of Parliament, the Noble Person that has been honour'd with them, or He that in all probability

will go without them.

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To begin with the Earl of Peterborough, his Lordship having been constituted and appointed Captain General of Her Majesty's Forces, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet bound for the Mediterranean, fail'd on Board the Ranelaugh, with King Charles III. on the 28th of July, 1705, from Lisbon, and appear'd off Barcelona August the 16th following; when, at a Council of War call'd in the Presence of his Catholick Majesty, it having been offer'd to the Consideration of the General Officers, Whether the Siege of Barcelona ought to be undertaken? they came to this unanimous Resolution, That the said Siege could not be undertaken with any probability of Success. However, at another Council of War, held August the 26th, seeing his Lordship, their Chief Commander, had declar'd in favour of the aforesaid Siege, it was agreed to form it; tho' foon after, on the 28th of the same Month, to fail with all the Troops to Savoy; which, indeed, was the first Defign of his Lordship's Expedition. But the King of Spain taking a Resolution to stay by his faithful Subjects of Catalonia, his Lordship saw himself reduc'd to a necessity of either going home re infecta, or taking this Attempt upon himfelf: Wherefore, not caring for being a General without doing fomething, he chose rather to trust to the Good-nature of his Country, which he hop'd would pardon his fucceeding in fo confiderable an Action, tho' not strictly undertaken by a formal Order. My Lord, therefore, now made use only of his own Thoughts, and by an uncommon Artifice made the never-to-be-forgotten Attack upon Fort-Montjuic; which has been ungenerously attributed to the Prince of Hesse. who was only a Voluntier in the Action, and never fo much as appriz'd of its being to be made till the Execution; and which, by its Surrender, occasion'd that of the Town, which was garifon'd by as many Troops as the Army was compos'd of that laid Siege to it.

The Reduction of this important Place was follow'd by those of Gironne, Lerida, Tortofa, Terragona, &c.

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and by the Expulsion of the whole French Army (that fate down before Barcelona in order to retake it, to the number of 24000 Men, commanded by King Philip in Person, and the Mareschal de Thesse) out of Spain into the Province of Roufillon, by the means of his Lordship, who fo diffres'd them in their Camp by a flying Army, not more than 2500 ftrong, which he brought with him from Valencia, that they were forc'd to abandon it and their Artillery, with all their Biggage; and had never fet footing in Spain again, had his Lordship's Advice for the King's immediate March to Madrid taken place with that Court. For he plainly forefaw what Defigns the Common Enemy had to put in execution for the Recovery of Spain, and therefore made all the preffing Instances imaginable to his Majesty to hatten his departure, because it was beyond contradiction that the King's Presence in his Capital in that juncture would have made all the Chief Places in his Dominions declare for him; and an ordinary Force upon the Frontiers of Navarre would have fecur'd the Puffage there against any second Entrance of the French into Spain. These Motives and Arguments urg'd by my Lord Peterborough, had their proper Weight with the Court and the Army; and accordingly it was twice unanimously refolv'd in a General Council of War, by all the Ministers and Officers, that the King should with all diligence march towards Valencia, and thar his Lordship with 6000 Men should go before, and prepare every thing to carry on his Mijelty to Madrid. Daid of wood

Yet were these Resolutions so far from being put in practice, thar, tho' his Lordship had brought the whole Kingdom of Valencia before this under his Majesty's Obedience, they were wholly neglected; though the Day was lettl'd for the King's Departure from Barcelona; may, what is more, the very Rout of his Journey adjusted, and his Lordship having fent all the Cavalry before, went on Board the Fleet with the Foot, who were in no condition to march for want of Baggage-

montano Da or B 2 de ou h Necessaries.

Necessaries, and landed at Valencia in few days after. His Lordship thought he could make no better use of his short stay here, than to recruit his shatter'd Cavalry; which he not only did, but mounted a new Regiment of Dragoons, draughted out of the Companies of Foot there being always in this Country, and especially in his Circumstances, which requir'd Dispatch, a necessity for a good Body of Horse: In which single Regiment his Lordship sav'd the Queen (which may feem a Paradox to some) 20000 Pounds; the Horses, one with another, coffing not above Ten Pounds apiece. which, if they had been transported from England or Ireland, would have flood Her Majesty at least in Sixty Pounds, as those were actually found to do, which first went upon the Descent into Catalonia; And this Regiment, to shew his Lordship's earnest defire to march into Castile, had its Rout given it the very same day it was mounted.

To facilitate this Entrance into Castile, his Lordship immediately sent Lientenant-General Wyndham with a Body of 1500 Horse to besiege Requena; a strong and troublesom Garison, and indeed the only one in the Road to Madrid, and the first Frontier-Town of the Enemy. The Enterprize succeeded to his wishes, and the Way lay open for his Majesty's March; for his Lordship prov'd to the King, by the constant passing of Deserters as well as Expresses, that there was nothing now to hinder his Majesty from reaching Madrid with a small Party of Horse only; and he thought a King needed not much persuasion to take Possession of a Crown, when 'twould be rather a Journey of Pleasure than a March, and this to be easily perform'd in a Fortnights time.

Yer, notwithstanding all these Preparations for carrying on the King and his Troops, and the by frequent Messengers and Letters he had urg'd the Necessity of the King's immediate departure from Barcelona, his Majesty did not think fit to set out from that place till

near

near a Month after the time agreed on. 'Twas yet a greater Surprize to his Lordship, that the King, upon his Arrival at Terragona, had quite alter'd the Scheme of his March, and taken a Resolution of going found by Saragoffa; whereupon he remonstrated to his Majefly, with all the earnestness imaginable, the Danger of the least Delay in such a critical Conjuncture. neither the Hazards nor Inconveniencies of fo danges rous a March, wherein his Majesty might run the risque of being intercepted by the Enemy, nor the more than ordinary Zeal his Lordship shew'd in persuading the King from it, by dispatching Letters after Letters, a Deputation from the Valencian Nobility, and the Opinions of feveral Councils of War for that purpole, wete of any force or weight. Some particular persons about the King had more Authority with him, and he perfifted in his Measures; always giving it as a Reason of his going by Saragossa, that the Generals of the Portuguese would move that way, and had promis'd to secure his March to their Camp. Wherefore his Lord-Thip still flatter'd himself with Hopes, since he perceiv'd there was a Correspondence between his Majesty and the Portuguese Army, who were now (as he was told) Masters of Madrid, these who had the Command there would make all the Advantages of so happy a Conjun-Eture, and not only secure that Capital till they had fafely conducted the King thither, but take care to felze and fortifie the Passes in Navarre, the only and obvious Expedient left, fince the King was refolv'd on thefe new Methods, to keep him in the quiet Possession of his Kingdom.

What Motives his Majesty had for this extraordinary change of his Sentiments, is best known to his Majesty; that they could not arise from any want of Respect or Observance in his Lordship is very manifest, since, tho' some of his Ill-wishers attribute the cause of this Journey through Arragon to his Lordship's peremptory denying the King Money for his necessary Charges, tho'

he had receiv'd 103000 /. at that time remitted from England for his Majefty's Service; his Lordship was fo far from refuling the King upon this Account any Money which he had in his power to give him, that his Lordship not having receiv'd any part of the pretended 103000 l. was forc'd to order for that purpose 40000 l. appropriated to other Uses. And 'ris well known to all those that are well acquainted with what pass'd in Spain. that his Lordship, to clear himself from these Calumnies, brought M. M. ad, the Queens Paymafter, before the King and Mr. Stanhope, who, in regard to thefe points, gave this Account to the King, That all his Troops bad been paid ten days advance, for which he produced their Receipts; that no part of the 103000 l. was come to his bands; but that however 40000 l. had been advanced for bis Majefty's Service, at the earnest sollicitations of the Earl of Peterborough, which was design'd and appointed for other Services.

Nay, when, upon his arrival at Saragossa, his Majesty was in want of a Supply, and wrote to my Lord of Peterborough for it, his Lordship immediately sent all the Money he had of his own, and what he could get upon Credit, and had his Majesty's Thanks return'd for it in a very obliging Letter: So far was he from refusing the King Money towards supporting the March that was at first design'd, and so much wish'd for by his Lordship, that he took care his Majesty should not want it, even in a Journey which his Lordship could by no means ap-

prove of.

What remain'd for his Lordship to do, now there were no hopes of the King's coming through Valencia, which helwas oblig'd to wait for, by the Fundamental Council of War at Barcelona, was to order all the Forces to advance into Castile, except about 1000 Men, which were left for the necessary Security of the Kingdom of Valencia: And in this he was forc'd to have the Opinion of a Council of War, of both Spaniards and English, to release him from the Obligation he lay under of staying for

the King; his Lordship having been always so cautious as to act by a Council of War, ever fince that Action of

taking Barcelona without one.

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Thus though His Majesty did not think fit at that time to be conducted to his Capital by the E. of Peterborough (the King having fent him word just before the abovemention'd March, that the Portuguese Army would be sufficient to protect him from any attempts the Enemy could make against him,) the Earl thought it his Duty to be near at hand to Succour him upon any emergency, and therefore made it his Choice rather to neglect fending the Forces under his Command to the Relief of the Duke of Savoy pursuant to His Majesty's Orders, than preventing the return of the French into Spain, and fecuring the Country round Madrid: wherefore he defir'd to be excus'd from complying with his Majesty's directions, and continu'd on his March thro' Caftile. So far was his Lordship from shewing any unwillingness to carry his Troops thither, or refusing to advance when he had Orders for it; that when he did March 'twas contrary to the King's defires, who urg'd him immediately to purfue the Orders he had receiv'd from the Queen, and Embarque the Succours for Italy.

And indeed his Majesty was quickly convinc'd that his Lordship had judged right; for instead of being able to go on triumphantly from Saragosa to Madrid, his Majesty saw a necessity of writing pressingly to that Lord, to come up to him with all the dispatch imaginable, to secure his March to the Army at Guadalaxara. This his Lordship instantly comply'd with, by joining his Majesty near Prastana, and had at last the Honour of conducting him to the Contederate Forces; and this within a Fortnight after he had receiv'd the Advices mention'd above, that his Majesty had no further occa-

fion for the Presence of Him or his Troops.

So that his Lordthip, contrary to the Intentions of the Earl of Gallway and those who commanded the Portuguese Army, came up with them to be an Eyewitness witness of their Retreat from the Capital, which he perfuaded them (to no purpose) to reposses themselves of, now they had the King among them, and, in despish of their keeping no manner of Correspondence with him by Letter or otherwise, as appears by the Testimonies of several Couriers that went to the Portuguese Army through Valencia to his Majesty, came to assist them

with his Forces and Advice.

Here his Lordship expected to have met a flourishing Army ready to carry the King in thro' to Madrid; not questioning but in those Forty Days, wherein he not only made Preparations to march into Castile, but took Carthagena, Cuenca, Alicant, and Requena, (Places of great Strength and Consequence) that the Portuguese General had with the like Caution and Activity fecur'd the Country round Madrid; his Lordship being confident with good reason, that such Opportunities as those in his Hands would have enabled him to drive the Duke of Berwick beyond the Ebro: or at least not to have been fo destitute of Information, as to have suffer'd an Army of 20000 Men to come within two Hours March of him without the least Intelligence of their approach; or to have given them the opportunity of retaking Madrid without a Blow.

Yet this was the state in which Affairs were at his Lordship's arrival in the Portuguese Camp; and he found the Confederates, not only not prepar'd (as he had hop'd) for a Glorious Entrance into Madrid, but retreating before the Enemy, and every Body did that Justice to the Lord Tyrawly, as to own, 'twas in a great measure owing to his Conduct, that upon such a Surprize they were capable of making any Retreat.

To recover the Disgrace of this almost fatal Miscarriage, the general Opinion inclin'd to Fighting; but the Earl of Peterborough knowing too well the irretrievable Consequences of a lost Battle, oppos'd this Motion, our Circumstances at that time being the most improper for such Expedients, that would hazard the entire Loss of

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what they were possess'd of in Spain: Yet at the same time his Lordship made an Offer to attempt, with 5000 Men, the Recovery of Madrid; and the Methods he design'd to take were allow'd so likely to succeed, that they were approv'd of more than once by the King and all the Generals. But at this time Consultations were tedious, and Executions slow; so that after two or three days Debate, the Design was laid aside meerly for want of Bread, there being as little Preparation there, as there had been for pursuing the Duke of Berwick.

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Wherefore, fince the Camp at Guadalaxara was no place for a Man of Enterprizing Genius to abide in, and the Resolutions of the other Generals were so fluctuating and uncertain as not to be any ways depended upon, his Lordship, after a few days continuance there, resolv'd to put in execution the Queens Orders that commanded him to Italy; which being shewn to the King and all the Generals at a Council of War, had their Approbation in writing according to form. To which Powers that authoriz'd him to leave Spain, his Lord (hip had very strong and prevailing Reasons to be added from the Posture of Affairs there. For the Condition of the Army was extremely miserable for want of Money, and the Prospect still worse, unless effectual Means were used for a speedy Supply. In this Necessity, the Ministers and Generals very preffingly recommended that Affair to his Lordship; the Marquis das Minas and the Portuguese Ambaffador gave him Bills to transact for them at Genoa; and the King, to shew both his want of Money, and the great Confidence he had in his Lordship's Fidelity, gave him full Powers, fign'd and feal'd by his Royal Hand, to mortgage any part of his Dominions, rather than he should fail in his Negotiations. Which is a sufficient Confutation to all groundless Reports, such as his leaving the Army under Discontent on account of his not having the fole Command of it, and making it a Voyage of Pleasure rather than of Business, or by any Orders.

What

What still confirm'd his Lordship in this Resolution of going to Italy, was, that he found at that juncture no occasion for his Presence in Spain: For the Campaign to all appearance was then at an end, and the Generals feem'd to propose nothing else than going into Winter-Quarters, and maintaining themselves there till the Seafon would give them leave to take the Field; and that this was the Defign when his Lordship left them, will appear by the loud Remonstrances of all the Spaniards against the Retreat into Valencia, and how much posfes'd the King and all his Officers were with this Opinion of keeping their Ground in Castile, the Count Novailles, Velt-Mareschal of the Emperour, and General of the King of Spain, has in the fulleft and most fenfible manner explain'd in a Letter to the Earl of Peterborough while they were retreating; which, amongst other material Points, has these Passages: With all the Spaniards of my Opinion, I could not procure our March from Chincon, or retard the Passage over the Tagus, in a Season so little advanc'd, and so proper for Action. We were flatter'd that Winter-Quarters should be establish'd in Castile, between the Xucar and Gabriel, where we are now encamp'd; but it is plainly feen that we shall march into the Kingdom of Valencia, so contrary to the King's Defires, &c.

His Lordship, thro' the means of a deep penetration into Affairs, as it were foreseeing what would happen to the Army in Castile, was for providing against the Consequences of it before he left Valencia for Italy, and took care before his embarquing to fortise and secure the Country and Coast against the Insults of the Bishop of Murcia; and therefore, tho' press'd by the King and the Lord Gallway to send up the Forces there into Castile, his Lordship had the unanimous Opinion, not only of all the Gentlemen of the Country, but of a Council of War held Sept. 6. 1706. at the General's Quarters in Alicant, That, considering the ill Circumstances of our Affairs in those Inland Parts, and the necessity of keep-

ing a fure footing towards the Sea, it was of the highest Consequence, that the little number we had then in Alicant should continue there, the whole being not more than 900 Men, as well for securing the Kingdom of Valencia, as preserving the Communication with Castile, which, if cut off to the Sea, might expose the King's Person and the Army to the uemost Hazard. And had not this prudent foresight of his Lordship, back'd by the Consent of the Communication between the Sea and the Castile, whither could they themselves that desir'd these Forces have made their Retreat? or where could their Army have substited till the Battle?

'Twas for the same Reasons that his Lordship refolv'd not to carry any of those Troops with him to
Italy, and that he design'd upon any emergent Occasion
from that Quarter to have drawn Supplies out of the
Garisons of Catalonia: But having been some days at
Sea, he had the good Fortune to hear of the decisive
Battle of Turin, which had put it in the Duke of Savoy's Power to be much superiour to the Enemy in the
Forces he already had, and to stand in need of no Auxiliaries from a Kingdom that could so very ill spare

them.

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How serviceable this Voyage to Genoa, and how all the Views of it were answer'd, cannot be more evidently manifested than they were by the Universal Applause of the Spanish Nation, and the Esteem and Respect paid by all the Princes abroad; and in particular, how sensible his Catholick Majesty was of the Advantages gain'd by it, appears fully by an Instrument under his own Hand, lately produc'd before the House of Lords, which makes mention of that very Expedition put in execution with his Approbation, and the Opinion of all the Ministers and Generals; and of his Lordship's obtaining in that Voyage most known Advantages to his Majesty's Service; and particularly commends that Vigour which is always found to distinguish his Actions, and which recommends

commends those Measures which his Zeal and Ahility hath adjusted with the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, to whom he would notifie upon the first Occasion his entire

Satisfaction in all be bad transacted, &c.

This Royal Testimony not only shews his Majesty's entire Approbation of this Voyage, but is a sufficient Reply to those malicious Infinuations that have been made of the King's Displeasure to the Earl. In his absence, indeed, salse Suggestions, and the Contrivances and Cabals of others, have too often prevail'd: and during the Correspondence of the Portugal Army, not only unfortunate Methods took place, but, as his Lordship found at his return from Italy, the King had been by some Artifices wrought upon to significe to the Court of England some kind of Dissatisfaction with his Conduct.

Others likewise charge this Noble Peer with giving too large Premio's for the Money that was advanc'd for his Majesty's Use, and taking it at an extravagant Interest of 20 per Cent. for procuring the Money at Genoa, (which would have amounted to 20000/) whereas not above 1000 was allow'd by his Lordship above the current Exchange; and such a Sum obtain'd in such difficult Circumstances, as 100000/, in so little time, and at so little loss, is as Extraordinary as any of those

many Services he did in the Spanish War.

'Tis pity his Enemies did not say he over-rated his Baggage that was suffer'd to be taken after he had taken leave of the Army at Guadalaxara, that was offer'd to be made good to him at the rate of 10000 Pistoles, which it was actually worth, and which he generously refus'd; rather making it his choice to have the Army supply'd with two Months Provision of Corn, tho' it was under another General's Command, than have any Missfortune happen to the Confederate Arms, through his having the least Regard to his own Interest. An Action as unpresidented, and for some time as indifferently spoke of, as his taking Barcelona with as few Troops as the Garison of the Town, and relieving it af-

ter, when the Troops within and without were but a Handful of Men in respect to the Numbers of the Be-

fiegers.

To come to a Period: His Lordship after his return from Spain acted in no Publick Post; yet upon all Occasions thew'd the fame Concern and Zeal for the Publick Good, and the Prosperity of her Majesty's Arms. And tho' he was dismis'd from the Command of the Army, ver he did not think himfelf exempt from using his utmost Endeavours to promote the Interest of the Common Cause: Wherefore, having brought them Monevs to carry on the War with, he could not but think it advisable to leave behind him Rules to conduct it with, which his Experience and Knowledge of the Country made him highly capable of giving; and in a Council of War held at Valencia, Feb. 4. 1707. gave in writing his Opinion concerning the Management of the Campaign, which he would have had to be on the Defensive, and which, if carry'd on after that manner, would have hinder'd the difmal Effects of a contrary Judgment in a very few Months after, at the fatal Battle of Almanza, which was the Prelude to all our Misfortunes in that Country that have happen'd fince.

His Lordship being sensible how things would go after his departure, but zealous to turn them another way. that the Advantages He had gain'd with so much Prudence might not be lost through the want of it in Others, wrote from Turin the 21st of April following, where, having urg'd the Necessity of a Defensive War to the Portugese Ambassador, and said, I know my Reasons, tho' good, will have little force with the Generals; They have the last Campaign in their thoughts, and have not perhaps the same Tranquility of Mind and Quiet which, I thank God. I enjoy. I am well affur'd that the Interest of your Country needs Precaution; fince your best Troops are in Spain, and that a Defeat must expose Portugal before Succours can arrive; fince England has left herself almost unprevided with Troops, and that the Forces in Italy

Italy being defign'd for other Services, it will be difficult to obtain any of them, the Circumstances pressingly require it. I therefore intreat your Excellency to think again of the Confequence of a loft Battle. God be prais'd you are not under a Necessity of a Victory; that is the Circumstance of France, &c. Whether the Portuguefe follow'd this Advice or not, and voted against coming to a General Action, it is not in my power to determine; but this Letter from my Lord plainly shews how well the Author of it could judge of the Posture of their Affairs, and how reasonable it was to think of nothing but a Defenfive War. My Lord, without all peradventure, wiffies he had been militaken in his Judgment; but in a few days after the writing of it, those who had no regard to what he foretold, took care most punctually to fulfil it.

As their not liftning to his Lordship's Advice in Spain was the occasion of irretrievable Losses in that Kingdom, so it likewise prov'd of very pernicious Consequence to the Affairs in Italy, which had been so well concerted between the Duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, and the E. of Peterborough; for by the means of the Defeat at Almanza; the French were able to make large Detachments from thence to Provence, which rendred the Siege of Thoulon, that afterwards was so gloriously

undertaken, of no effect.

His Lordship's stay in Italy was very short after the foregoing melancholly Accident; and tho' he lost no Time at the several Courts; he visited after his dismission from the Command of the Army, in Consultations for the good of his Country in particular, and the whole Confederacy, he was very earnestly recall'd Home by the Ministry then in being, who were none of his best Friends; and was forc'd to leave a very worthy Son dangerously ill of his Wounds, and the Court of his Royal Highness of Savoy, where he was receiv'd with all possible marks of Distinction, for nothing like a Reception at that of Great Britain; so much was the Interest of his Enemies superior to his own.

But tho' he could have the favour of no other means to justifie himself, than by the Press, and neither the Court, nor the House of Peers, thought fit to set his great and unparallell'd Services in a true Light, till the present Seffion of Parliament: His Lordship has had the Honour at last and very lately, to the no small disappointment of the Faction, not only to be publickly acquitted from having ano share in the Mismanagements of the War in Spain or elsewhere, but very honourably Thank'd for discharging the Trusts repos'd in him with Zeal, Courage, and Fidelity; a Reward, though not anfwerable to the great Things he has done for us and our Allies, yet nothing short of the Manors of Woodstock and Wooton, if we confider the Dignity of that great Affembly that gave it. On which Occasion Sir Symon Harcourt, the Lord Keeper of the great Seal, address'd his Lordship as follows;

My Lord Peterborough,

"I am commanded by may Lords to return their "Thanks to your Lordship, for your many Eminent and Faithful Services to your Queen and Country during your Command in Spain.

My Lord,

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"The Thanks of this Illustrious Assembly is an Ho"nour, which has been rarely pay'd to any Subject, but
never, after a stricter enquiry into the Nature of any
"Service, upon a more mature Deliberation, or with
"greater fustice, than at this time to your Lordship.
"Such is your Lordship's known Generosity, and tru"ly Noble Temper, that I assure my self the Present I
"am now offering to your Lordship, is the more ac"ceptable as it comes pure and unmix'd, and is unattended with any other Reward, which your Lordship
"might justly think would be an Allay to it.

"Had more Days been allow'd me, than I had Minutes, to have call'd to mind the wonderful and amazing

mazing Success, which perpetually attended your Lordship in Spain (the Effect of your Lordship's Per-

" fonal Bravery and Conduct) I would not attempt the enumerating your particular Services, fince I should offend your Lordship, by the mentioning of such as

" I could recollect, and give a just occasion to this Hoa nourable House, by my involuntary om flion of the

" far greater part of them.

" Had your Lordship's Wife Counsels, particularly " your Advice at the Council of War in Valencia, been purfued in the following Campaign, the fatal Bartle of Almanza, and our greatest Misfortune which has of Almanza, and our greatest Misforrune which has " fince happen'd in Spain, had been prevented, and the " Defign upon Thoulon might have happily succeeded. " I shall detain your Lordship no longer, than in " Obedience to the Order I have receiv'd, to return " your Lordship, as I do, the Thanks of this House, for

" your eminent and remarkable Services to your Queen and Country, during your Command in Spain.

His Lordship's Answer.

My Lords, For the great Honour I have received from your or d-Ships, I return my most humble Thanks, with a Heart full of the truest Respect and Gratitude: No Service can deserve such a Reward. It is more than a sufficient Recompence for any past Hardships, and to which nothing san give an Addition. I shall endeavour in all my future Actions, not to appear unworthy of the unmerited Favours I have this Day receiv'd from this great Assembly.

Thus the Reader may fee, that notwithstanding all the Efforts of his Enemies, to render his Lordship's Services of less Importance and Significance than they were, they appear'd in their true Lustre; and that this Noble Peer has this to Comfort him under the Ungrateful Returns he before met with from a thankless and ungenerous Party, that those who deny'd him the

just Rewards of his unwearied Application and Diligence for the Common Good, would have deny'd his Royal Mistress her self the Exercise of Her just Rights, and that he has no other Enemies to his extraordinary Merits, but such as are for lessening and impairing the Queen's; since through vindicating the Prerogatives of Her Majesty, their Lordships have at last afferted the Privileges of a very deserving Subject.

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What remains for me to do in the next Place, is to Account for my Title, by looking into the Merits of his Lordship the Earl of Gallway, that those who are not acquainted with his Actions may from hence be at liberty to judge, how much he falls short of the other Peer, or how near he comes up to him, for none can draw such a Conclusion as can make him excell him.

And here as we went through the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct from his very first Landing in Spain. till after his leaving it, so it is but necessary we should do the same by his Lordship, especially since the Transactions in Spain have fuch a dependence on those in Portugal, and are so closely interwoven with them. Wherefore, omitting the Dialogue between him and the Great Man at Windfor, which you'll find in the Annals of Queen Anne for 1704, I shall take him from his first Arrival in Portugal, where, having waited on the King, and been graciously received, he took a Review of the Portuguese and Auxiliary Forces, which were upwards of 18000 Men, and caus'd them to pass the little River Coa, and so encamp near Almeida on the 23d of September, 1704. It is observable the Two Kings, of Spain and Portugal, encourag'd this Royal Army with their Presence, with design to Invade Cafile, but things were fo carry'd (no doubt by the Prudence of the Generals) that when they came to the River Agueda, which they intended to pass near Ciudad Rodrigo, they found the opposite Banks so well guarded by the Spaniards under the Duke of Berwick, (whose Army was very near 9000 effective Men) that it was thought

thought fit not to hazard the Loss of double the Number; and so retiring further into the Territories of Portugal, the Troops were sent into Quarters, without any such thing, beyond all question, as the Earl of Gallway's Consent for their so doing. As for the Spaniards, they were so weaken'd by the Battalions sent under the Command of the Marquis de Villadarias, to form the Siege of Gibraltar, that they held themselves to have Business enough on their hands to defend their own Country, and had no thoughts of invading Portugal; so that all things were wonderfully quiet on those Frontiers till the

24th of April, 1705. N. S.

The Conde das Calveas, a Grandee of Portugal, acted as Generalissimo, and under him the Conde de la Corsona, the Earl of Gallway, and Baron Fagel, who commanded each other as Captain-Generals in their respective Turns for the space of a Week; the Conde de Villaverde being General of the Horse, and the Viscount Barbacena General of Artillery. The first day the Army made but a small March of a League and a half; on the 25th they march'd two whole Leagues; on the 26th and 27th they kept the same fort of pace; and on the 28th were muster'd, and found to confist of more than 24000 Men; the Train of Artillery being found to confift of 20 heavy Cannon, 24 Field-pieces, 7 great Mortars, and 10 small Mortars. The 29th the Army march'd a League and a half, and the next day advanc'd a League, and encamp'd in fight of Albuquerque. The 1st of May they march'd a League and a half, and encamp'd near Vincento, which having submitted the day before upon Terms, was plunder'd by the Foreigners. The 2d the Army having advanc'd two Leagues, arriv'd before Valencia d' Alcantara, which surrender'd after a stout Refiftance on the 9th following, the Garison being made Prisoners of War. Note, General Fagel commanded this Week, fo that the taking of this Town cannot, without manifest Injury to that Gentleman, be imputed to the Earl of Gallway. The mor-

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The Army decamp'd from Alcantara the 14th of May (N. S.) and encamp'd the same evening at St. Vincent, and the 17th came before Albuquerque; but the March being very long, they could not invest it till the 16th. On the 22d the Garifon was allow'd to march out upon very honourable Terms, by the Earl of Gallway, who, instead of making them Prisoners of War by Force, endeavour'd to win their Affections by Treats, and allow'd them a Piece of Cannon not included in the Articles, as a particular and much-applauded Act of Generofity. This is look'd upon by his Lordship's Vindicator as a Master-piece in Politicks, to encourage other Towns to furrender as cheaply as this did, which cost so much Powder and Ball against it, that He himself says the Befiegers had but 200 Cannon-Ball left; the other People think it the only way to put Arms in their hand to make a Defence with.

The remaining part of the Season for this Summers Campaign was spent in Marches and Countermarches, Consults about the Siege of Bidajox, but no Resolutions taken thereupon; wherefore the Army went into Quarters of Refreshment; though I should have told the Reader another remarkable Action that his Lordship had a thare in, which was to fend out 600 English and Dutch Horse to secure a Convoy of Provisions coming from Campo Major, that otherwise might have been in Danger; and that the Mareschal de Tesse, tho' he hover'd about this Camp with more than 2500 Horse at a time, did not dare to attack them, because they were fo very much upon their Guard, through the wife Pre-

cautions of their Generals.

On the 30th of O. Tober following, after the Earl of Gallway had prevail'd with the Marquis das Minas. and the other General, to form the Siege of Badajox, all the Forces decamp'd, and rendezvous'd on the River Caya, and on the 3d of the following Month encamp'd before Badajox; the Trenches were open'd on the 4th, and daily reliev'd by the Troops of the feveral Nations

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Nations which the Army was compos'd of, till the 7th, when his Lordship thought fit to change the Disposition of the Army, by fending one half of the Forces over the Guadiana, to hinder the Enemy from throwing any Succours into the place. The 8th General Fagel arriv'd in the Camp. The 9th and 10th was spent by the Befiegers in making their Approaches, throwing Bombs into the Town, and firing upon it from three Batteries of Cannon. On the 11th a Bomb from the Town blew up the Powder at one of their Batteries, and several of the Gunners, whereupon the rest ran away. The Earl of Gallway and the Baron de Fagel repairing thither to remedy the Diforder, found the Platform spoil'd; and as they were upon the Battery to encourage the Soldiers, and had both their Arms litted up, fo that they touch'd one another, a Canon-Ball from the Old Caftle came between them, and struck off the Right hand of my Lord Gallway a little below the Elbow; Whereupon General Fagel took upon him the Command of the Army as Campmaster-General under the Marquis das Minas, and on the 12th the Beliegers continu'd to fire with fuch Success, as they hop'd to be Masters of the Town by the 15th. The 13th a French Dragoon came over to them, and gave them to understand that the Enemy were marching to relieve the Town; and in the Night between the 13th and 14th two other Dragoons defert. ed, and made their Report that the Army was in motion, tho' two Spanish Troopers that were taken soon after contradicted it, and affirm'd that they were in their old Camp. Tho' they were within fight of the Confederate Army, foon after, and before the latter could come up with them, they pass'd the Chevora over a Stone-bridge, (which ought to have been broken down at the forming of the Siege) and drawing up their Army behind that River, with Badajox in their Reer, flung a Thousand Grenadiers into the Place, Icaving the Confederates to retire to their Camp without being able to hinder the Relief of the Town, by a Body of Troops that was

was scarce a third part of their Number, it confishing only of 3000 Horse and 5000 Foot, when theirs was up-

wards of 24000 effective Men.

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Badajox being thus reliev'd, the Befiegers withdrew their Artillery from the Batteries, and on the 17th decamp'd for Elvas, where they arriv'd the 19th following, and separated, and went into Winter-Quarters. Various were Opinions about this Difgrace; the Earl of Gallway's Friends imputed it wholly to General Fagel; and on the contrary, those that were Well-wishers to the General charg'd his Lordship with it, in the first place, because General Fagel was not at the Council of War. but on his way homeward when the Siege was undertaken, and in the fecond, because his Lordship had so disposed of the Troops, as to invest only part of the Town, instead of the whole. 'Tis true, the King of Portugal did his Lordship the Honour of a Letter of Condolance on the loss of his Arm, and the Queen his Miltress made him a Present upon that Disaster: But, as neither of these were of force enough to justifie his Conduct with his Enemies, fo many that were impartial in their Affections to either of the Two Generals, had very favourable Sentiments of the Baron Fagel's Vindication, which he caus'd to be printed, and which it will not be improper to infert upon this occasion.

I Hope your Majesty will pardon the Boldness I take to profirste my self at your Royal Feet, and give you, by these Lines a Relation of what pass'd the 14th Instant, when the Enemy threw Succours into Badajox.

Having obtain'd leave of their High Mightinesses to return to Holland, I thought to obtain the same Permission of your Majesty, when you order'd me to repair to the Army, which I found before Badajox. I arrived there four days after the Opening of the Trenches, which was done without having ruin'd, or possessed the Magazine the Enemy had at Talavera, two Leagues from the Front of your Majesty's Army, where was then but 3 or 4000 of their Troops, but they were considerably reinforc'd, when I arrived in the Army. I confess I was of Opinion, that it was advisable to quit the Siege for a time, in order to march

to the Enemy, and drive them from a place that was fo near us; but, contrary to my Advice, the Siege was carried on. In the mean time the Enemy, who were but two Leagues from your Majesty's Army, having their Right towards the River Guadiana, were daily reinforc'd, and your Majesty's Army, which had their Left towards the same River, were so far from being able to furround and invest the Town on all sides, that they did only cover the Trenches. The Generals of your Majesty's Horse were ordered to have constantly Parties abroad, to observe the Enemy's Motions; being so near them, we feared to be furpriz'd. The Earl of Galway having had the misfortune the 11th Instant to have his Hand shot off, the Function of Mestre de Camp fell to me. The 12th I gave the most exact Orders poffible, that the Generals should have notice of any thing that might occasion an Alarm. I was willing also, by way of Precaution, to have made Works to hinder the Execution of the Enemy's Design, but it was too late. The Night between the 13th and 14th, at two in the Morning, we had Notice given us by two Deferters, that the Enemy were in motion fince the Evening before, but they could not tell us on what fide of the River they march'd. I advised immediately the assembling of all the Generals, but came to no Resolution; and it being fear'd the Enemy might march towards our Left, I proposed to the Generals who were on Duty, that we should all repair to the Left, in order to take there the necessary Measures. No notice being taken of what I said, I resolved to go thither in Person, and being arrived there, the Generals gave me so many Assurances that the Enemy were not moving, that I return'd in hopes of meeting the Marquis's das Minas. I was no sooner gone, than Intelligence was brought me, that the Enemy appear'd before our Posts. I dispatch'd immediately Manuel d'Asevedo Fortes Tenente, General under the Marquifs das Minas, to give him notice that the Enemy were before our Flank, and defired him to joyn us forthwith. Sieur Manael d'Asevedo Fortes, has since reported to me, that he found the Marquiss in his Quarters, that he mounted on Horseback immediately, and repaired to the Left, without loss of Time. I went my felf, full Gallop, to Count St. Juan's Post on the other fide the River, but did not arrive there, till the Van of the Enemy's Army had gain'd the Bridge on the Chevra, and and was already drawn up against us. I ask'd all the Generals and Experienc'd Officers, viz. Lieutenant General Windham, Major Generals Harvey and Teghnagel, Colonel Baron of Winterfeld, Count St. Juan, and Count St. Vincent, of your Majesty's Troops, if they thought it was still possible for me to pals the Army, and draw them up; but, by reason four Souldiers abreast only could pass over a Bridge, and that the two Fords were likewise very narrow, and the Channel of the River large,

all the Generals and Officers unanimously concluded it could not be done, and that I ought to draw up the Army on the other fide. Had the Generals thought it possible, I would have ventured to have pass'd some Troops, in order to draw them up before the Enemy's Front, and attack them; but it was highly probable they would not have fuffered a Body of Troops, firong enough to fight them, to pass; and the Generals being of a contrary Opinion, I could not undertake to pass the Army against their Consent, and without the Approbation of the General in Chief. In the mean time I order'd Count St. Juan to prepare to withdraw his Troops, lest he should be driven into the River: I went to the other fide of the River, to draw up the Troops that were already in motion to pass it, and waited on the Banks of the same for the Arival of the Marquiss das Minas, that I might follow his Directions. No time was loft; for the Troops that were still before the Camp moved on in order to pals the sooner. Hereupon the Marquels das Minas arriv'd, and the Troops were likewise in motion, in order to pass the River, and fustain one another: But the Artillery I had fent for was not yet arrived : The Marquis das Minas having heard my Report, did not only approve what I had done, but stay'd also above an Hour before he let the Army pass, in order so fall upon the Enemy's Rear.

Sir, I hope your Majesty will pardon me, if I leave it to the General in Chief to give your Majesty an Account of the rest that passed that day: yet, nevertheless, I have dispatch'd with the present, the Baron of Winterfeld, Colonel in my Masters Armies, who is a skilful and experienc'd Officer, and was present in all that happen'd, in case your Majesty will be inform d

of some Particulars.

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Sign'd,

The Baron de FAGEL.

News being brought to Portugal of the great Preparations made by the Court of Madrid against that of Barcelona, and their Resolutions to besiege that City, it was proposed in a Council held at Lisbon, the King and the Chief Generals present, to make a Diversion in Spain, and hinder King Philip from Preightning the Affairs of King Charles. In order to this, it was resolved to open the Campaign with the Siege of Alcantara. Accordingly the Troops left their Garisons to form the Army. The greatest Body, which was encamped near Elvas, between the Caya and Cayala, march'd on the last day

day of March (N.S.) to Salvador, the 2d of April to Mayorga, and the 3d to St. Vincent, where the feveral Bodies join'd, to the number of 26 Portugue se Battalions, 5 English, 4 Dutch; 36 Portuguese Squadrons, 2 English, and 4 Dutch; being provided with 24 Pieces of Heavy Cannon for Battery, 12 Field Pieces, Provisions for 24 Days, and Waggons and Carriages in proportion. The 4th of April the Army advanc'd to Membrilla's, and encamp'd near the River Selor. The 5th and 6th was taken up in levelling the Roads and paffing the River. The 7th it was refolv'd to attack the Duke of Berwick, who was encamped at Brocas, and might have been entirely defeated, but for the Confederates being unacquainted with the Ground in those Parts: So that the Rear was only put to flight, and ten of its Squadrons overthrown. The Army rested themselves the 8th at Brocas, and march'd on the oth towards Alcantara, into which the Duke of Berwick had three days before thrown 7 Battalions, and which was formally Befieg'd on the renth; the Trenches being open'd on the same Night. The Garrison furrenderd themselves Prisoners of War on the 16th, and march'd out at the Breach, headed by Don Miquel de Guasco, Mareschal de Camp, and Don Diego d' Avila, Brigadier, in all 3282 Men. The 19th the Marquiss de Frontire made the Garrison of Moraleja, another fortify'd Town, likewise surrender at Discretion after a Siege of three Days: It confifted of 400 Regular Troops, under the Command of a French Governor; and on the 23d Don Juan d'Atayda did the same by Coria, and fecur'd the Magzines just at the time that Mr. Jefforeville was advancing that way with 12 Squadrons to burn the Ovens and Stores the Fnemy had in the Place. The Army broke up from Coria the 26th, and on the 27th reach'd Gallistro, a little Town with pretty good Walls and a Castle, belonging to the Conde of that Name. The 28th they encamp'd at Placentia, where a Council of War was held about the farther OpeOperations of the Campaign, and the Earl of Gallway infifted to march directly to Madrid, to which the Portuguese would by no means consent, as believing Barcelona to be lost, by reason of its being besieg'd by the French; and being of opinion that they ought to improve the Time, and possess themselves of the places upon the Frontiers before the Duke of Berwick was join'd by the Reinforcements he expected from France. However, they march'd as fat as Almaras, and destroy'd the Bridge there, that the Enemy might have no passage over that River from Alcantara to Ponte de Arco-

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Here another Council of War was held, the Refult of which was to march into Old Caffile, and attack Ciudad Rodrigo, from whence they might advance towards Madrid through Salamanca, in case they had News of the raising the Siege of Barcelona. On the 10th of May Don Joseph Belvis, a Gentleman of one of the best Families in Valencia, arriv'd in the Camp from the Earl of Peterborough, with Advice, "That the Siege would draw out into length, from the Difficulties the Enemy met with, and would very probably be rais'd at the approach of the Confederate Fleet, which would make it impossible for them to retreat through Arragon, and oblige them to fetch a great Compais through " France: wherefore he defir'd my Lord Gallway to " march directly to Madrid, where he should be join'd as foon as possible by all the Forces that were on that " fide". But this Meffage, which shews that there was no want of Correspondence on the fide of the Earl of Peterborough, made no impression on the Portuguese; they would march backward to Ciudad Rodrigo, which they invested the 21st of May, and posses'd themselves of by Articles on the 26th, that oblig'd the Garison not to bear Arms for the space of a Year. On the 27th the Generals received the News of the raising the Siege of Barcelona, whereupon it was unanimously refolv'd to march towards Madrid, The decamp'd from Ciudad Rodrigo

Rodrigo the 2d of June, and arriv'd the 7th at Salamanca. from whence the Duke of Berwick retir'd towards the País of Guadarama. From thence they fent a Detachment to possess themselves of Alva de Tormes, and put a Garison in the Caftle; and on the 12th left Salamanca, and march'd towards the Pass of Guadarama, taking Peneranda in their way, where they receiv'd Deputies from Segovia. The 17th the Army encamp'd at Villacar feri, where they erected Ovens and a Magazine under a Guard of One Battalion. The 18th they came to Espinal, where Deputies from the Escurial came to offer their Submission. and on the 23d pass'd the Mountain at the Puerta de Guadarama, and encamp'd near the Village of that Name, within a League and a half of the Escurial. The 24th the Army encamp'd at Nuestra Signora de Ratamal, where they receiv'd Deputies from Madrid, fent from the Nobility, Corrigidor, and all Persons of Note, and where likewise the Earl of Gallway receiv'd Letters from King Charles and the Count Novelles, importing, That my Lord Peterborough had embarqu'd the Infantry for Valencia, where the King was to join him with all the Cavalry, and then march towards Madrid.

On the 27th the Allies encamp'd near Madrid on the Banks of the Mansanares, where most of the persons of Distinction in that City came to see them, and caus'd King Charles to be proclaim'd in that City three days after; which had effect upon several Towns, amongst which Toledo was the first, and Cardinal Portacarero, the Archbishop of it, wrote to the Marquis das Minas, and the Conde de la Corfona, affuring them in express Terms of his Obedience to that Prince. On the 7th of July my Lord Gallway fent the Captain of the Hustars and 30 Troopers to the King by the way of Valencia, to press his Majesty to join the Army at Madrid; which Commander, tho' he loft most of his Men by the Peafants in his March, reach'd the King, without any Letters for the Earl of Peterborough, because it was reasonable to suppose that his Lordship was with the King ;

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King; and, upon that Supposition, according to the Rules of War and Decency, he thought that out of Respect to his Majesty he ought to send Him all the Intelligence and to Him only. The 8th brought the Confederates News of the Revolt of the greatest part of those places in Old Castile that had declar'd for them, which retarded the coming up of the Convoy of Provisions the Allies expected, cut off their Communication with Portugal (an unpardonable Negled), and hinder'd them from receiving any more Corn from the Conquer'd Country. The Inhabitants of Mancha foon after took up Arms in favour of the Duke of Anjou, and the City of Toledo declar'd for, and proclaim'd Him again. These Confiderations, back'd with their want of Provisions at Madrid, where those they had contracted with to furnish them with Bread, fail'd in the Performance, and the Murmurs of the Inhabitants who feem'd One and All in another Interest, induc'd the Confederates to decamp from thence and march to Alcala, that they might be nearer their own Provisions, which they did on the 11th of the same Month, and at the same time fent some Detachments towards the Mancha, in order to reduce the Rebels; One of which confifting of 200 Horse and 300 Foot, was oblig'd to fight a Body of Foot at Quintanar, and tho' they defeated them, did it with the loss of a Colonel of Horse, who commanded the Party, five Captains, and fifty private Men.

The 15th of July the Confederate Generals march'd with the Horse and Foot of the first Line to Guadalaxara, upon account (as they gave out) of the goodness of the Air and Water, the conveniency of Forrage, and the advantagiousness of that Post; from whence they sent the Quarter-Master General, du Bourguet, to the King at Saragossa, to hasten his March to the Army; and having receiv'd an Answer to their Message, that the King was to be at Molina in Arragon on the 28th, and desir'd them to cover his March, that was to be within thirteen Leagues of the Enemy, they iaid the Project

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which had been concerted to secure and fortiste Toledo, aside, and resolv'd to march towards the Enemy at Xadraque, which they did; and having recall'd their second Line from Alcola, and being arriv'd near it, sound the Van of the Enemy's Army marching towards them, who re-pass'd the Defilees as soon as they perceiv'd the Allies; but the Country was so difficult, that it was not possible to come to a general Engagement, and therefore the Armies did only Canonade each other, and

Skirmish for two Days.

The Enemy's Camp being daily reinforc'd from France, the Confederates thought of returning to Guadalixara, and encamp'd the 31st at Junquiera, and were follow'd by the Enemy, who encamp'd within two Leagues of them. On the 1st of August they march'd from thence towards Guadalaxara, but lost their Communication with Portugal, by not posting themselves behind the Caruma; and marching from thence near Guadalaxara, and observing that the Enemy design'd to force them to a general Engagement, put the River Henares between the Enemy and themselves. The 2d of August the Duke of Berwick came, and encamp'd before the Allies, and on the 3d reposses'd themselves of Madrid, making some Miquelets that were left to Garrison the Castle, Prisoners of War.

To proceed: On the 6th, King Charles, attended by the Earl of Peterborough and the other Generals, join'd the Army at Guadalaxara with his Regiment of yellow Dragoons, which made four Squadrons; another of Horse of Don Pedro Moras, making also four Squadrons in a very good condition; and three compleat Battalions, one Italian in his Majesty's Pay, and two Dutch; which were follow'd two Days after by three Battalions more, one of Castilians, the other Germans, and the Royal Regiment of Raby's Dragoons, making three Squadrons, and that of Pierce one; which could not put them in a condition to go in quest of the Enemy, who were superior in Number to them (but by whose Fault?) both in Horse and Foot.

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The Earl of Peterborough Itay'd but a very little Time with the Army, but left it (as my Lord Gallway's Vindicator gives out) on account of the Marquis das Minas his refulal to share the Command according to his Proposal; which, if true, adds very much to the Praise of the former, who would not submit to let the Portuguese take the Post of Honour of the English, out of their own Country, as that Lord did. To proceed, the Confederates having confum'd the Provisions and Forage gather'd at Guadalaxara in fix Days after his Majesty's arrival, (a great Token of their Preparations for the reception of him and his Troops) thought fit to March for Chincon, where they arriv'd the 14th of Augult, and continu'd a whole Month, nothing of Moment happening but some Skirmishes with the Enemy. which often happened to the disadvantage of the former. fince the Peafants always gave them wrong Intelligence, on account of their willingness to get rid of them, which is an argument likewise of the strict Discipline they are faid to have kept.

At length the Confederate-Generals saw there were no hopes of receiving any more Reinforcements either from Portugal, or from the Earl of Peterborough (who is falsely said, in the Lord Gallway's Account, to have had 13 Battalions in Valencia, when the whole Body of Forces, English and other, amounted to no more than nine hundred Men), they resolv'd to pass the Tagus, which they did the 14th of September, and were join'd by General Wyndham with three Battalions and a Regiment of Horse, all of my Lord Peterborough's raising, as likewise seasonably supply'd with Bread, Bisket, and other Provisions for the Army, which his Lordship had generously accepted of in lieu of 10000 l. the Town of Hueta would have presented him with for the loss of

his Equipage and Baggage.

The Enemy pass'd the Tagus at the same Time at Aranjuez with all their Forces; and with a strong Body of Horse observ'd, and endeavour'd to disturb the Marc.

March of the Allies; but they never found an opportunity to attack them with Advantage: So that at last the latter pass'd the Xucar near Vilverdo, from whence they march'd to Montila, and thence to Peral, where they stay'd 'till the 25th, when the Duke of Berwick being inform'd that they were to march thro' a Plain to Iniesta, in order to draw near the Xabriel, drew all his Forces together, and advanc'd with fo great diligence in the Night, that his Van appear'd in the Plain just as they began their March; upon which, the Earl of Gallway (tho' the King and the Marquis das Minas was there) made the necessary Dispositions for a Battle, and with fuch a presence of Mind conducted the Army over the Xabriel in fo good Order, that the Enemy durst not attack them. After this remarkable and fuccefsful March, the Confederate Army took their Quarters from Requena to Denia, having posted themselves at Cofrentes, and put a Garrison into Cuenca (which had not been done but for Count Novelles's Advice), whereby they preferv'd an entrance into Castile, and at the same Time were able to protect those Countries that had before submitted to King Charles, who for the same Purpose fent most of his own Troops into Arragon.

The Earl of Peterborough being return'd from Italy, and having perform'd his Commissions for Money with success, gave his Opinion in a Council of War held at Valencia the 15th of Fanuary, 170% for the Confederates to be upon the Desensive, (as has been already said in that part of this Narrative that more particularly belongs to him) but by the majority of the Generals, contrary to the Sentiments of his Catholick Majesty, the Portuguese Ambassador, and the Count Noyelles, it was resolv'd to act Offensively; which the Earl of Rivers perceiving at his arrival with the Forces from England, declin'd making any Stay with them, and in a few Days after Landing, sail'd homewards, accompanied by the

Earl of Effex and Brigadier General Gorges.

What Effect those unpremeditated Resolutions had, may be seen by the satal Battle of Almanza, that was sought on the 25th of April sollowing, and which might have been avoided, had the Earl of Gallway not sided with the Portuguese; first, in the attack of the Castle of Villena, which was of little or no significance; and afterwards, falling upon an Enemy that was superior to them, not only in Number but the Goodness of Troops, after they had been join'd by 10000 of the best Soldiers in France: But as the successful March that was made in sight of the French and Spanish Army before, was wholly to be imputed to the Earl of Gallway, so now his Lordship's Vindicator is so dextrous as to shift off the missortunes of this Battle upon the Marquis das Minas.

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After this Defeat, from which his Lordship did not bring off 2500 effective Men, he retreated with the remains of the English and Dutch Horse to Alegra, and having left a Garrison in that Place and in Xativa, Denia and Alicant, march'd with the Portuguese Cavalry, that sav'd themselves by flight, to the other side of the Ebro near Tortosa, in order to join the rest of King Charles's Forces, and defend the Province of Catalonia. The result of this unfortunate Campaign was the loss of the Kingdom of Valencia, the strong Town of Lerida, and the raising the Siege of Toulon, which was done by Forces from Rousillion, which could not have been spar'd, had the Confederates only acted upon the Defensive.

Whom the Loss of this Battle may be imputed to, may be seen by the following Letters.

Letter of the Count of Cardona's from Valencia, May 2. 1707.

WE find our selves at this time full of Regret by reason of the Loss of the Battle of Almanza, which might have been easily avoided, could the eagerness of the Earl of Galling have been diverted; but the Matter was carried so far, that neither the

the several Advices of the Officers the Day before, nor those of the Country People, which confirmed the former, were of any Effect towards making him alter his Design. However the greatest Fault consisted not in rejecting the several Informations given him, but in not falling upon the Enemies Flank, which might have been done easily. This Oversight, together with the great Interval in the middle of the main Body, gave the Enemy an Opportunity to improve it to their own Advantage, and wholly to cut off our Right Wing, the Consequence of which was, that all the Cavalry sell upon the Infantry, now totally abandoned, and cut them all in peices.

This unhappy Accident may justly make us fear more fatal

Consequences than at present we can well imagine.

The Letter of Brigadier Drinborn's to Count de Noyelles.

My Lord, Doubt not but the Baron Friesheim hath already transmitted unto your Excellency a Relation of the unfortunate Battle of Almanza; which was fuch, that it's impossible for me to give your Excellency an exact account of it. We quitted the Siege of the Castle of Villena on the 23d, having receiv'd Intelligence that the Enemy's Army was come to Almanza; and on the same Day, after we had withdrawn our Men and Cannon, we marcht the 24th as far as Candette; and after a Resolution had been taken to attack the Enemy, notwithstanding their Superiority, who encamped four Leagues from us, we began our March the 25th early in the Morning with fuch Expedition, that by Noon we entred the Plain, by a place call'd the Tower of Don Henry, and found the Enemy had not decamp'd, as we flatter'd our felves they would. We also found that their Army was joyn'd, and much stronger than ours : However we perfifted in the Resolution to fight them; and our Army advancing on the Plain towards Almanza, my Lord Gallway with a Detachment possessed himself of some rising Ground, less than a Mile and a half distant from the Enemies Front; from whence he could fee their Army drawn up in order of Battle, having the Town of Almanza in the Rear of their main Body; which was fo posted, that the Second Line was near the Walls, extending its right Wing on a rising Ground, and the left into a great Plain, having three Lines to the Wings, which were very close. We were commanded to extend ourselves more and more towards the left; and feeing we were too weak to equal their Front, this Wing was reinforced with das Minas's Horse, that were drawn from the Second Line, which yet would not do: And as my Lord Gallway's Defign was, he being then on our left, to hem in the Enemies right, by keeping us of

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to extend our felves as we marched towards the left, with fo much Precipitancy, without taking notice, that we did therea by make large intervals between our main Body and the Wing; yet we still prest on; and about Three the Fight began towards the left : The Enemy foon broke the English and Portuguese Dragoons, but they rallied again. The main Body came to engage at the same time, so far as the Portuguese, who continued in the Rear, and our Infantry penetrated through the Enemies Body, who were destitute of Horse to support them. I fustained the left Wing with the first Squadron of my own Regiment : we broke in upon them, and all that Battalion were made Prisoners, and their Colours taken by my Troopers; At the same time two other of the Enemies Battalions, that they might fuccour their main Body which was then on the Rout. took my Squadron in Flank, whose Fire we bore, and then were obliged to succour the Battallion of Welderen, who fought with their wonted Courage. The Portuguese did not come on all the while, but we faw their Horse on the Right, who fell upon Two or Three Squadrons. There was at that time on the Left no more than de Neudes and One or Two Batallions more, the Two Squadrous of Harvey, and my second Squadron, with the Dutch Dragoons, who being attacked by a treble Line of Foot and Horse, yet stood their Ground; But the Infantry, after they had rallied three times, were broke in upon by the Enemy, and almost all cut to pieces; so that our Troops being now routed on all fides by the Flight of the Left Wing, we found it very difficult to fave the Jemainder of my Regiment, that of the Dragoons, and that of Harvey's, after we had charged feveral times. In the mean time the Count de Done had rallied the Remains of Fourteen Regiments, and we were informed next Day that he was retired to the Hills of Don Henry, and entrenched himfelf there, I went out with a small Detachment beyond Cating, because they flatter'd my Lord Gallway that he would defend himself still if he had but Provisions. The Intention was to endeavour the relief of those Troops; but I soon learnt, that upon Summons they had furrendred, though upon a formal Capitulation, which was confirmed Yesterday by Count Dona and feveral other Officers. It is strange that so small a Body should for so long a time resist the great Number of the Enemy; and some have affured me, that the Prisoners taken in this Place did not exceed 1500 Men. As for the rest of our Infantry, we have no more here than those who guarded the Baggage, the Sick and the Wounded in the Action at Catina. I have found 147 recovered of their Wounds; this is the fad Condition of our Army. We shall leave some Men in Garrison here, and for the rest I cannot tell what they will do, or how they will fave themselves. There is slill above 100 good Horse in my Regiment, and several wounded. Certainly there was never such a

piece of Work as we have made of it. I was not of the Council of War, as not having received my Commission for a General Officer; but I cannot understand how those who have been the Cause of this Misfortune can answer it. However, I shall not enlarge upon this Head, but wish I could speak in Person to your Excellency; there is an absolute Necessity for it, and to that end I endeavoured to go towards Catalonia; but the Baron de Friesbeim refusing me that Liberty, this has put me upon writing in this manner, being very forry I could not do it fooner. The Evil is irretrievable, and I look upon our Affairs to be ruined; and I am afraid, when I confider the State and Management of our Affairs, that they will be attended with fatal Consequences. The Recruits are sent towards Tortofa, and Monsieur Friesbeim told me that he would have them incorporated with our Arragon Batallions. Your Excellency knows much better than I after what manner, if it be possible, this Misfortune may be redressed. My Lord Gallway has a broken Pate, Das Minas is Sick, and Friesheim knows not what to do in this Exigency. I wish I could have sent better News to your Excellency, but God has ordered it otherwise, and the Blindness of our People was the Occasion of it.

Aleira, April the 30th. 1707.

A Secret Letter to the Sates of M. Schonenberg, June 1. 1707.

My Lords, HO' I do not doubt but their High Mightinesses shall have e'er this Time received a very exact and particular Account of what happened in the difgraceful Battle of Almanna, yet I am of Opinion they will by no means find the Circumstances and Particulars mentioned in the Three Letters hereunto be superfluous. That under the Letter A. is an Original of the Count de Noyelle, writ to me, accompanied with a full Relation of the Action under B. transmitted to his Excellency by Brigadier Drinborn, and the other under C. is an Extract and Translation of the Remarks made by the Count Cordona Governor of the Kingdom of Valencia, on my Lord Gallway's Conduct, in a Letter to King Charles's Minister residing here. From all which it plainly appears with what little Coherence, and how indifereet Counsel a Resolution so unnecessary, and yet of the highest importance, was undertaken; with what blind Zeal and Confusion they carried it on, and with what fatal Success it was attended. It's also very remarkable, that we have not yet received in this Place as much as one Scrip of Paper either from the Marquels Das Minas, the Earl of Gallway, or the Baron de Friesbiem; which makes us imagine, that the Two last,

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at least my Lord Gallway, has fent directly an ample Relation of the Fight, by a Frigate, into England. To this give me leave only to subjoyn that by the feveral Advices we have received from very good Hands. out of divers Quarters, the Confusion among the respective Generals was so great, that they were almost all cut to pieces, and the unbroken Portuguese Cavalry, left the Kingdom of Valentia, and retired towards Tortofa without difputing the Passage of the River Jonear with the Enemy, who have already penetrated as far as Valentia; and in all appearance the Garrion left in the Castle of Alicant cannot long hold out against them. In the mean time his Majesty has dispatch'd the Marquess l'Fuencalada, a Spanish Gentleman, into Italy, to follicit for a speedy and strong Reinforcement of Foot and Dragoons; with which the Imperial Court, notwithstanding the pressing necessity of it, and the Conveniency arising from the Nearness of the Expedient, perhaps has no Inclination to comply with, will prefume it to be against their own particular Interests in Italy, unless their High Mightinesses and the Queen of Great Britain go roundly to work to haften fuch a Reinforcement fo greatly wanted in Spain. The fame Marquels is also ordered, after he has concluded his Business with the Duke of Savey and Prince Eugene, to fet forwards for the Hague and London, to represent the urgent Necessity of quick Supplies. As for this Court, they have been so far from imploying what Forces they have on this Side, to make a speedy and vigorous Diversion in order to stop the Enemy; that they on the contrary countermanded and fent back those Troops that were on the March from the Province of Alentaja to reinforce the Body of the Army about Zuidad Rodrigo, in order to cover, as much as possible, the Frontiers of Algarve, where the Enemies little Flying Camp under the Duke d'Ossuna have taken the Town of Serna. Moreover, fince the forementioned little Army is augmented to about 5000 Men, Horse and Foot, though chiefly Militia; and make a shew of penetrating farther; I do my utmost by continual Representations to the Court to let them see, that by the junction of these Troops, and the Operations of fuch a Body of Men, the Frontiers on this fide may not only be fufficiently fecur'd, but also that this only Succour, which is yet at Hand, may feafonably contribute to retrieve our Affairs, against the Progress of the Enemy in Valencia and elsewhere, and oblige them to divide their Force for the Defence of their own Country; but that, on the contrary, by feparating of this Army, they would be so far from covering the Frontiers of Portugal, that the Enemy would with more facility attack and master the remote Quarters one after another, and even penetrate into the Heart of Portugal, without the least Stop or Diwersion given to the Operations of their Grand Army against King Charles. All these, and several other convincing Arguments, make no Impression upon the timorous and obstinate Counsels of the Ministers, who content themselves with protesting, that if England and the States do not send over speedy and large Succours, they shall not only be incapable here, of making a Diversion in savour of the Common Cause, but likewise be unable to defend and secure themselves. I have so evidently set forth the cool Temper of this Council every Post, that it would be superssuous to trouble their High Mightinesses any more about it. Wherefore I recommend my self to their Favour, and leave it to their great Prudence, and their Knowledge in Matters of State, and exemplary Zeal, to find out Expedients proper for the Good of the Common Cause, and the Service of our Country.

Count de Noyelle's Letter to Mr. Schonenberg.

HE Letter you did me the Honour to write to me on the 29th of March, came to my Hands; and I have communicated to the King your Thoughts, in relation to what we may expect on the fide of Portugal. You will be fuprized with the bad News contained in the Papers I do herewith fend you.

It's matter of Amazement, to find People, without any Reafon or Necessity, march four Leagues to find out an Enemy much stronger than themselves, very advantageously posted, and eager to engage; to alter the Scheme that had been laid and approved of by the King, that the Army should march into Arragon, where there were Magazines already provided; where his Majesty was to act in Person; and where being joined with 2000 Horse under the Command of Count de les Poebla, and 3 Durch Battalions, they should have been at least equal to the Enemy.

But what will furprize you the more is, that from the 25th of the last Month, on which the Battle of Almanza was fought, to this very Day [May 6.] there has been no Account transmitted to the King from the General, which makes me believe they do not know what Turn to give it.

In fhort, my Lord, they have play'd the Fool with themselves, and we suffer here for it.

^{*} There is scarce such an Instance of Neglect as this to be met with in History; and tis the more so, because the distance between Almanza and Barcelona, is not about 250 Miles.

You may well imagain how they have expos'd the Army and the King there; never did this Prince shew more Constancy than now, making a Virtue of Necessity; he has sent for a Re-

inforcement of Foot from Italy.

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The Frontiers of Valencia and Arragon are in great danger; and if, with the remains of their Army, they do not defend the Passages of the River Ceucar; the First is lost, and the other Kingdom wherein there is no tenable Post, will be much exposed: We have not been wanting to make necessary Remonstrances to them, the result of which we do not yet know.

It has been proposed to fend the Dutch and Portuguese Recruits,

which were not in the Battle, to Valencia and Tortofa.

It is absolutely necessary, that a Diversion should be made on the side of Portugal, by which means the Enemy will be oblig'd to re-call the Troops which they drew from thence to this Frontier.

Finally, my Lord, we will do what possibly we can; tho'

after all, our best will be bad enough.

I'll let you know the Consequences of such extravagant Management, and what Reason my Lord Gallway can give for his so extraordinary Conduct.

Barcelona, May 6.

I am,

C. de Noyelle.

In the Year 1708, the Earl of Gallway being recall'd from Spain to his Embassy in Portugal, did not go into the Field on account of the ill state of his Health: But next Spring (1709.) the Confederate Army under the Marquis de Fronteira's and his Lordship's Command, having taken the Field about the end of April, came to an Engagement with the Forces under the Marquis de Bay on the 7th of May, where the latter with 5000 Horse, took three English Regiments Prisoners, with their commanding Officers, sive Pieces of Cannon, and great part of the Army's Buggage, after putting the Portuguese to slight, and making his Lordship and his Secretary, Colonel Bladen, who both narrowly escap'd being taken Prisoners, ride four Leagues about, 'till at last they join'd the Run-away Army near Elvas.

Upon this uninterrupted course of Missortunes, his Vindicator says, his Lordship desir'd to be recall'd, and

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the Queen having at last granted his request, and appointed the Earl of Portmore to succeed him in the Command of the British Forces in Portugal, my Lord Gallway sail'd for England, as soon as he heard his Successor was ready to embark; and arriving in London, had the Honour to his the Queen's Hand at St. James's,

and mer with a very gracious Reception.

Though that he has not had the fame Honour from the Houle of Peers, may be feen from their Lordships late Representation to Her Majesty, where that his Lordinip is not raultless, appears in his being charg'd jointly with the Lord Tyrawly and General Stanhope, for infifting in a Conference held at Valencia some time in laneary, 1704, in the presence of the King of Spain, and Her Majesty's Name being us'd in maintainance of their Opinion for an Offenfive War, contrary to the King of Spain's Opinion, and that of all the General Officers, and Publick Ministers there (except the Mirquis das Minas), and the Opinion of the Earl of Gallway, Lord Tyrawly, and General Stanhope, being pursu'd in the Operations of the following Campaign, was the unbappy occasion of the Battle of Almanza, and one great Cause of our Misfortunes in Spain, and of the Disappointments of the Duke of Savoy's Expedition before Toulon, concerted with Her Majefty.

It is likewise represented by their Lordships to Her Majesty, That as the Earl of Gallway has, in yeilding the Post of Her Majesty's Troops to the Portuguese in Spain, asted contrary to the Honour of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, so they find the Earl of Peterborough, during the Time he had the Honour of Commanding the Army in Spain, did perform many great and eminent Services, and if the Opinion he gave in the Council of War at Valencia had been follow'd, it might very probably have prevented the Missortunes that have since

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Yet, though their Lordships have not thought fit to give this Noble Person Thanks, or the same Acknowledgments as they have done to the Illustrious Earl of Peterborough; since a very able Pen has congratulated him upon his ill Successes, after a very areful Manner; and it is not in my Power to present the Reader with any thing in Prose, like what has been said by the present Lord Keeper, in savour of his Antagonist, I think it not foreign to the purpose to conclude with the following most excellent Poem, which will shew how ready I am to make use of any Materials that are conducive to his Lordship's Praise, tho' I cannot allow them for his Justification.

To the Lord Gallway, occasion d by the unfortunate Bat-

R Epine not, Sir, at Fortune's partial Laws, Who often frowns upon the juster Cause: Ine Lawrel-wreath, with like deferred Renown, May both the Victor and the Vanquill'd crown; Nor mourn the fwift Viciffitudes of Fate, That Name should teach you what arrends the Great. Successful Acts depend not on the Will, And Virtue, though 'tis croft, is Virtue still. Think on Rome's Fagles by Marcellus led. Think on the Fabii and Emilius dead, Who to their Country facrificing all. Rose by Defeat, and triumph'd in their Fall. Will not Great William's Fame outlast the Sun? And has not Luxemburgh a Batrle won? Churchill, 'tis own'd, ne'er yielded to a Foe; But Pompey was o'ercome, and Cafar too. Apply, great Sir, these just Examples Home. Britain can ne'er be more ingrate than Rome. Fate's dark Decrees did that black Day ordain. That Wrong should triumph, and Oppression reign;

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Yet Gallway long 'gainst Numbers kept the Field, Numbers by Mars led on, by Jove upheld, With Fury so heroically grear, Repell'd the Torrent, and disputed Fate, So well the Chief and Soldier did maintain, That Victory was partial long in vain:

The Gods suspected much their own Decree, And Fate grew doubtful of her Destiny.

Thy honest Wounds will testify thy Fame,
And show, the Fortune waves, that thour't the same.
Wounds deck the Hero with distinguish'd Grace,
And write the best Encomium in his Face.
From those red Monuments of Fame we're taught,
To think of nothing but how Gallway fought.
We view no more Almanza with Regret,
But in his Deeds our Country's Loss forget.

The Painter's Pencil may with artful Care
Nicely describe the Prelude of a War,
Or set the Hero in a glorious Light,
Eager of Fame, and burning for the Light:
But who can tell the Vigilance and Pain
That fill'd thy Breast, and work'd thy lab'ring Brain;
Busy to act the General's better Part,
And to supply the Want of Force with Art?
What Hand can paint those unexampled Toils,
That mock'd the Victor's Arms, and sham'd his Spoils;
That could retreive that gallant slaughter'd Host,
Which British Arms unaided had not lost?

Berwick could now more humble Thoughts endure, In Victory it felf but ill fecure.

The Warrior's Wreath he drop'd, and blush'd to own

The fruitless Trophies he so late had won.

Is this the Harvest which my Lawrels bear,
And do my boasted Triumphs vanish here?
Are these th' Effects of slaughter'd Foes? He Jaid.
Thus Pyrrhus vanquish'd, and thus Pyrrhus sled.
What means this kiddle in the conquering Cause?
Or fure my Fancy gives my Judgment Laws,

And

And never fuch a Scene of Triumph rose,
Or Hydra's are renew'd in British Foes,
Or some nocturnal Fan om France deceives,
And decks my Brow with visionary Wreaths.
Not so Unerring Gallway's prudent Aim
Retards the Progress of my growing Fame
He still determines all Fvents in One,
To cross my Measures, and advance his own;
And, as to Nutriment Men Poisons turn,
Makes ev'n malignant Planets kindly burn.
Such Praise I must (however too severe
The Sound may prove in Royal Philip's Ear)
On my great Adversary's Worth bestow,
And love the Warrior, tho' I hate the Foe.

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He spoke, and did the adverse Chief behold; With Valour cautious, and with Caution bold; Busy his sharter'd Legions to repair, And give a different Prospect to the War: Industrious each commodious Ground to gain, And watchful to redeem Almanza's Plain. So when sierce Hannibal (his Foes o'ercome) Insulted Italy, and threatned Rome, The wary Fabius, with delusive Wiles, And cunning Feints, the Conqueror beguiles; Watchful and wise diverts impending Fate, And, by delaying well, preserves the State.

Homer, who best of Poets understood To temper Heroes, or to form a God, Makes bold rash Heat to cooler Conduct yield, And Hotspur Mars to Pallas quits the Field.

FINIS.

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